THE ANSWER OF THE COMMONS, TO A PETITION,

In the name of thousands wel-affected persons inhabiting the City of *London*, *Westminster*, Borough of *Southwarke*, and *Hamlets*, and places adjacent.

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To the Right Honourable, the Commons of England, &c.

SHEWETH,

(A) THat although we are as earnestly desirous of a safe and *wel grounded Peace*, and that a finall end were put to all the troubles and miseries of the Common-wealth, as any sort of men whatsoever: Yet considering upon what grounds we engaged on your part in the late and present Wars, and how far (by our so doing) we apprehend our selves concerned, Give us leave (before you conclude as by the Treaty in hand) to acquaint you first with the ground and reason which induced us *to aid you against the King* and His Adherents. Secondly, What our Apprehensions are of this Treaty. Thirdly, What we expected from you, and do still most earnestly desire.

(B) Be pleased therefore to understand, that *we had not engaged on your part, but that we judged this Honourable House to be the Supreame Authority of England*, as chosen by, and representing the People; and entrusted with absolute power for redresse of Grievances, and provision for Safety: and that the King was but at the most the chief publique Officer of this Kingdome, and accomptable to this House (the representative of the People, from whom all just Authority is, or ought to be derived) for discharge of His Office: And if we had not been confident hereof, we had been desperately mad to have taken up Armes, or to have been aiding and assisting in maintaining a *War against Him*; The Laws of the Land making it expressly a crime no lesse then Treason for any to raise War against the King.

(C) But when *we consider the manifold oppressions brought upon the Nation, by the King, His Lords, and Bishops*; and that this Honourable House declared their deepe sence thereof; and that *(for continuance of that power which had so opposed us) it was evident the King intended to raise Forces, and to make War*; and that if He did set up His Standard, it tended to the dissolution of the Government: upon this, *knowing the safety of the people to be above Law*, and that to judge thereof appertained to the Supreame Authority, and not to the Supreame Magistrate, and being satisfied in our Consciences, that the publique safety and freedome was in imminent danger, we concluded we had not only a just cause to maintaine; but the Supreame Authority of the Nation, to justifie, defend, and indempnifie us in time to come, in what we should performe by direction thereof; though against the knowne Law of the Land, or any inferiour Authority, though the highest.

(D) And as this our understanding was begotten in us by principles of right reason, so were we confirmed therein by their own proceedings, as by your condemning those Iudges who in the case of Ship-money had declared the King to be Iudge of safety; and *by your denying Him to have a negative Voice* in the making of Lawes; where you wholly exclude the King from having any share in the Supream Authority: Then by your casting the Bishops out of the House of Lords, who by tradition also, had been accounted an essentiall part of the Supreme Authority; And by your declaring to the Lords, that if they would not joyne with you in setling the *Militia*, (which they long refused) you would settle it without them, which you could not justly have done, and they had any real share in the Supreame Authority.

(E) These things we tooke for real *Demonstrations*, that you undoubtedly knew your selves to be the Supreame Authority; ever weighing downe in us all other your indulgent *expressions concerning the King & Lords. It being indeed impossible for us to believe that it can consist either with the safety or freedome of the Nation, to be governed either by* three or two *Supreames*, especially where experience hath proved them so apt to differ in their judgements concerning Freedome or Safety, that the one hath been knowne to punish what the other hath judged worthy

of reward; when not onely the freedome of the people is directly opposite to the Prerogatives of the King and Lords, but the open enemies of the one, have been declared friends by the other, as the *Scots* were by the House of Lords.

(F) And when as most of the oppressions of the Common-wealth have in all times been brought upon the people by the King and Lords, who nevertheless would be so equall in the Supreame Authority, as that there should be no redresse of grievances, no provision for safety, but at their pleasure. For our parts, we professe our selves so far from judging this to be consistent with Freedome or Safety, that we know no great cause wherefore we assisted you in the late Wars, but in hope to be delivered by you from so intoller ble, so destructive a bondage, so soone as you should (through Gods blessing upon the Armies raised by you) be enabled.

(G) But to our exceeding griefe, we have observed that no sooner God vouchsafeth you Victory, and blesseth you with successe, and thereby enableth you to put us and the whole N tion into an absolute condition of Freedome and Safety: but according as ye have been accustomed, passing by the ruine of a Nation, and all the blood that hath been spilt by the King and His Party, ye betake your selves to a Treaty with Him, thereby putting Him that is but one *single person*, and a *publique Officer* of the Common-wealth, in competition with the whole body of the people, whom ye represent; not considering that it is impossible for you to erect any authority equall to your selves; and declared to all the world that you will not alter the Ancient Government, from that of King, Lords, and Commons: nor once mentioning (in case of difference) which of them is Supreame, but leaving that point (which was the chiefest cause of all our publique differences, disturbances, Wars and miseries) as uncertain as ever.

(H) In so much as we who upon these grounds have laid out our selves every way to the utmost of our abilities: and all others throughout the Land, Souldiers and others who have done the like in defence of our Supreame Authority, and in opposition to the King, cannot but deeme our selves in the most *dangerous condition* of all others, left without all plea of *Indempnity*, for what we have done, as already many have found by losse of their lives and liberties, either for things done or said against the King; the Law of the Land frequently taking place, and precedency against and before your Authority, which we esteemed Supreame, and against which no Law ought to be pleaded. Nor can we possibly conceive how any that have any waies assisted you, can be exempt from the guilt of murders and robbers, by the present Laws in force, if you persist to disclaime the Supreame Authority, though their owne conscience doe acquit them, as having opposed none but manifest Tyrants, Oppressors and their adherents.

(I) And whereas a *Personall Treaty*, or any Treaty with the King, h th been long time held forth as the onely meanes of a safe and wel-grounded Peace; *it is well knowne to have been cried up principally by such as have been disaffected unto you*; and though you have contradicted it, yet it is beleeved that you much feare the issue; as you have cause sufficient, except you see greater alteration in the King and His party then is generally observed, there having never yet been any Treaty with Him, but was accompanied with some *under-hand dealing*; and whilst the present force upon Him (though seeming liberty) will in time to come be certainly be pleaded, against all that shall or can be agreed upon: nay, what can you confide in if you consider how He hath been provoked; and what former Kings upon lesse provocation have done, after Oathes, Laws, Charters, Bonds, Excommunications, and all ties of Reconciliations, to the destruction of all those th t had provoked and opposed them; yea, when your selves so soone as he had signed those Bils in the beginning of this Parliament, saw cause to tell them, *That even about the time of passing those Bils*, some designe or other was on foot, which if it had taken effect would not only have rendred those Bils fruitlesse, *but have reduced you to a worse condition of confusion then that wherein the Parliament found you.*

And if you consider what new Wars, risings, revolting, invasions, and plottings have beene since this last cry for a Personall Treaty, you will not blame us if we wonder at your hasty proceedings thereunto: especially considering the wonderfull Victories which God hath blessed the Army withall.

(K) We

(K) We profeſſe we cannot choſe *but ſtand amazed* to conſider the inevitable danger we ſhall be in, though all things in the Propoſitions were agreed unto, the Reſolutions of the King and his party have been perpetually, violently, and implacably proſecuted and manifeſted againſt us; and that with ſuch ſcorne and indignation, that it muſt be more then ſuch ordinary bonds that muſt hold them.

And it is no leſſe a wonder to us, that you can place your owne ſecurity therein, or that ever you can imagine to ſee a free Parliament any more in *England.*

(L) The truth is (and we ſee we muſt either now ſpeake or forever be ſilent,) We have long expected things of another nature from you, and ſuch as we are confident *would have given ſatisfaction to all ſerious people of all Parties.*

1. *That you would have made good the ſupreame of the people, in this Honourable Houſe, from all pretences of negative Voices, either in King or Lords.*

2. *That you would have made Laws for election of repreſentatives yearly, and of courſe without writ or ſummons.*

3. *That you would have ſet expreſſe times for their meeting, Continuance and Diſſolution: as not to exceed 40. or 50. dayes at the moſt, and to have fixed an expreſſe time for the ending of this preſent Parliament.*

4. *That you would have exempted matters of Religion and Gods worſhip, from the compulſive or reſtrictive power of any authority upon earth, and reſerved to the ſupreame authority an un-compulſive power onely of appointing a way for the publique, whereby abundance of miſery, perſecution, and heart-burning would for ever be avoided.*

5. *That you would have diſclaimed in your ſelves and all future Repreſentatives, a power of preſſing or forcing any ſort of men to ſerve in Wars, there being nothing more oppoſite to freedome, nor more unreaſonable in an authority impowered for raiſing monies on all occaſions, for which, and a juſt cauſe, aſſiſtants need not be doubted: the other way ſerving rather to maintaine injuſtice and corrupt parties.*

6. *That you would have made both Kings, Queenes, Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, and all Perſons, alike liable to every Law of the Land, made or to be made; that ſo all perſons even the Higheſt might fear and ſtand in awe, and neither violate the publique peace, nor private right of perſon or eſtate, (as hath been frequent) without being liable to account as other men.*

7. *That you would have freed all Commoners from the juriſdiction of the Lords in all caſes: and to have taken care that all tryals ſhould be onely of twelve ſworne men, and no conviction but upon two or more ſufficient knowne witneſſes.*

8. *That you would have freed all men from being examined againſt themſelves, and from being queſtioned or puniſhed for doing of that againſt which Law hath been provided.*

9. *That you would have abreviated the proceedings in Law, mitigated and made certaine the charge thereof in all particulars.*

10. That you would have freed all Trade and Merchandizing from all Monopolizing and Engrossing, by Companies or otherwise.

11. That you would have aboliſhed Exciſe, and all kind of Taxes, except Subſidies, the old and onely juſt way of England.

12. That you would have laid open all late Incloſures of Fens, and other Commons, or have encloſed them onely or chiefly to the benefit of the poor.

13. That you would have conſidered the many thouſands that are ruined by perpetuall impriſonment for debt, and provided to their enlargement.

14. That you would have ordered ſome effectuall courſe to keepe people from begging and beggery, in ſo fruitfull a Nation as through Gods bleſſing this is.

15. That you would have proportioned puniſhments more equall to offences; that ſo mens Lives and Eſtates might not be forfeited upon trivialls and ſlight occaſions.

16. That you would have removed the tedious burthen of Tythes, ſatisfying all Impropriators, and providing a more equall way of maintenance for the publique Miniſters.

17. That you would have raiſed a ſtock of Money out of thoſe many confiſcated Eſtates you have had, for payment of thoſe who contributed voluntarily above their abilities, before you had provided for thoſe that diſburſed out of their ſuperfluities.

18. That you would have bound your ſelves and all future Parliaments from aboliſhing propriety, levelling mens Eſtates, or making all things common.

19. That you would have declared what the duty or buſineſſe of the Kingly office is, and what not, and aſcertained the Revenue, paſt increaſe or diminution, that ſo there might never be more quarrell about the ſame.

20. That you would have rectified the election of publique Officers for the City of London, of every particular Company therein, reſtoring the Commonalty thereof to their juſt Rights, moſt unjuſtly with-held from them, to the producing and maintaining of corrupt intereſt, oppoſite to common Freedome, and exceedingly prejudiciall to the trade and manufactures of this Nation.

21. That you would have made full and ample reparations to all perſons that had been oppreſſed by ſentences in high Commiſſion, Star-chamber, and Comcell Board, or by any kind of Monopolizers, or projectors, and that out of the eſtates of thoſe that were authors, actors or promoters of ſo intollerable miſchiefs, and that without much attendance.

22. That you would have aboliſhed all Committees, and have conveyed all buſineſſes into the true method of the uſuall Trials of the Common-wealth.

23. That you would not have followed the example of former tyrannous and ſuperſtitious Parliaments, in making Orders, Ordinances or Laws, or in appointing puniſhments concerning opinions of things ſupernaturall, ſtyling ſome blaſphemies, others hereſies; when as you know your ſelves eaſily miſtaken, and that divine truths need no humane helpes to ſupport them: ſuch proceedings having been gene-

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rally invented to divide the people amongst themselves, and to affright men from that liberty of discourse by which corruption and tyranny would be soon discovered.

24. That you would have declared what the businesse of the Lords was, and ascertaine their condition, not derogating from the liberties of other men; that so there might be an end of striving about the same.

25. That you would have done justice upon the capitall authors, and promoters of the former or late Wars, many of them being under your power: Considering that mercy to the Wicked, is cruelty to the innocent: and that all your lenity doth but make them the more insolent and presumptuous.

26. That you would have provided constant pay for the Army now under the Command of the Lord Generall Fairfax, and given rules to all Judges, and all other publique Officers throughout the Land for their Indempnity, and for the saving harmelesse all that have any wayes assisted you, or that have said or done any thing against the King, Queen, or any of His party since the beginning of this Parliament, without which any of His party are in a better condition then those who have served you; nothing being more frequent with them, then their reviling of you and your friends.

The things and worthy Acts which have been done and atchived by this Army, and their adherents (however ingratefully suffered to be scandalized as Sectaries, and men of corrupt judgements) in defence of the just authority of this honourable House, and of the common liberties of the Nation, and in opposition to all kind of Tyrannie and oppression, being so far from meeting an odious Act of Oblivion, that they rather deserve a most honourable Act of perpetuall remembrance, to be as a patterne of publique vertue, fidelity, and resolution to all posterity.

27. That you would have laid to heart all the abundance of innocent blood that hath been spilt, and the infinite spoile and havock that hath been made of peaceable harmelesse people, by expresse Commissions from the King; and seriously to have considered whether the justice of God be likely to be satisfied, or his yet continuing wrath appeased, by an Act of Oblivion.

These and the like we have long time hoped you would have minded, and have made such an establishment for the generall peace and contentfull satisfaction of all sorts of people, as should have been to the happinesse of all future generations, and which we most earnestly desire you would set your selves speedily to effect; whereby the almost dying honour of this most honourable House, would be againe revived, and the hearts of your Petitioners and all other wel-affected people, be afresh renewed unto you, the Freedome of the Nation (now in perpetuall hazard) would be firmely established, for which you would once more be so strengthened with the love of the people, that you should not need to cast your eyes any other wayes (under God) for your security: but if all this availeth nothing, God be our Guide, for man sheweth us not a way for our preservation.

The Answer of the Commons, to a Petition, in the name of thousands welaffected persons, &c.

(A) His House is very well pleased with your desires of Peace, and hopes, that (when you are satisfied, the waies by you propounded for obtaining it, are not conducing to that end, but tending to the encrease of such meanes, as may make the War endlesse, and the troubles of this Kingdome infinite) your right affections will follow right reason, and they therefore are willing to informe you of those mistakes, which were the cause of those Propositions, which you have framed in order to Peace.

And first, we cannot but take notice of what you say, *that you engaged on our part against the King*; You know we raised Armes at first, and engaged such, as assisted us for King and Parliament; and you know both we and you, tooke * a Protestation to defend the Kings Person, Honour and Estate; and you know both you and we are the Kings Subjects, and ought by the duty of our Allegeance to adhere to Him and defend Him: and we cannot make War upon Him, nor on our fellow Subjects (His adherents) without breach of our Allegeance; All which might sufficiently informe you, that we have made no avowed War against the King, but against His evill Councellors: and we beleeved, if we should have told you, that we intended to make War against the King, you would not have aided us at all, knowing it high Treason, (as you professe you doe) which was the reason the engagement was for King and Parliament.

* May 1641.

Next we wish, that you would keepe your selves within the bounds of obedience, and not presume to anticipate our Councels, and prevent our proceedings, as you doe, by telling us, what you expect our resolutions to be. we are contented to receive information of your grievances from you, but must not be schooled, or Magistrated by you, although in the beginning, we gave way to some such Petitions, in regard of the distempers of your minds, whereby the Lords and many of our owne Members, were over-awed, yet this House cannot approve that such courses are agreeable to Law or Reason.

(B) Where you say, that *you had not engaged on the part of this House, but that you judged this House the supreame authority of England*, is very strange to us; your selves, as we beleeve (as well as we) having according to the common duty, and the Law of the Land, acknowledged before God, that *the King is the onely Supreame Governour of this Realme, over all persons, and in all causes*, and bound our selves by Oath to defend that His *Supremacy*; and we alwayes call

call our ſelves His Commons, and His Houſe of Commons, and make Petitions to Him for His grace and favour, ſtyling Him (as He is) our moſt gratious Soveraigne, and Leige Lord; and the experience of all times, and the opinion of all men of ſound judgement (Divines and Lawyers) being, that this Kingdome is a Monarchy, and ſo acknowledged in many Acts of Parliament, and this Houſe was inſtituted by the Kings Predeceſſors; All Townes ſending Burgeſſes by their Grants: And you know you ingaged for the Lords, as well as for this Houſe. We beleeve your mention of our Supremacy is but a pretence, and that you meane to aſſume the power you ſay is in the people, and exclude this Houſe, as well as King and Lords. It is true, the Members of this Houſe were choſen by the people of the ſeverall Countries and Townes, that ſent us to repreſent their Petitions to the King, not themſelves againſt the King; and our conſent to ſuch things as the King ſhall pleaſe to enact, is neceſſary; but you omit that we are called by the Kings Writ, without which, we could not come together, nor be ſent; And we are not called to redreſſe grievances, but to preſent them: for you may very well know the courſe that all Parliaments, (at leaſt the Houſe of Commons) have taken in this kinde, which is to Petition the King for redreſſe, and after advice for proviſion of ſafety.

That which you ſay, *that the King was at moſt, but the chief publique Officer of this Kingdome*, is contrary to the profeſſions of this Houſe in this preſent Parliament, divers Acts of former Parliaments, and the knowne Law; and its a title no age in this Kingdome ever heard of: Could you imagine, that the Supreame Governour is but an Officer, there being no power to command Him, all being His Subjects? Looke into the Scripture; were the Kings there Officers to any? and hath the King of *England* leſſe power, then God allowed the Kings of his owne people? or have the people of *England* greater power, then the people of God had? Its true, Kings are Miniſters of God, but Rulers of the people; and there is nothing more abſurd, then that he who is the Ruler of all, ſhould be intitled only an Officer to all; Its true, the function of a King is profitable to all, and He watches for the good of all, but it no way agrees to His calling to be an Officer in that ſenſe; that is, to be ſubordinate to any, and cannot ſtand with His Supremacy, which we have ſworne to defend.

And againſt what you ſay; All the Laws of our Kingdome tell us, the King is accountable to none but God onely; and this hath been ſo knowne a truth, as this Houſe thought none had been ignorant of it; and this Houſe hath never pretended to any ſuch power, though it hath ſometimes contributed to the ends of ſome Trayterous uſurpers againſt their lawfull Kings, being over-awed by terrour of Armies, and thereby, no lawfull Parliaments; And you are exceedingly deceived, in that you ſay, that all authority is derived from the people, for God gives the King His Authority; and in the Scripture you find Ed. 2. R. 2.

no authority derived from the people to their Judges or Kings, that being from the Lord; and it pleases God to call himselfe a King, and the Saviour of the world to be typified by Kings, and the Scripture cals *Kings, Gods*; and if all power had been derived from the people, those titles had been very incompatible to their Office; And if you cannot finde any proofe of such a derivation in Scripture, its too dangerous a precipice to put our selves on, by running into so grievous a sin as Rebellion, upon imaginary stories; and we are very sorry that you had an ill ground in taking up Armes, and a worse intention to turne them against your King; The Law of the Land (as your selves expresse) making it Treason to raise War against the King; and that being so without all exception, and no plea against it, you may assure your selves, that this House had no such power as you meane, for there would not have been such a Law for the King, and none for it, if it were so; And therefore you see how you were deceived, and what need there is both of Peace, and of an Act of Oblivion, in regard of His Majesty, and the pardon of Almighty God, for the many evils you have fallen into by this mistake.

Psal 82.

(C) You say *you considered the manifold oppressions brought upon the Nation by the King, His Lords, and Bishops*; You very well know, that in the many Remonstrances of this House to the King, we still protested, that though we represented our grievances to Him, it was with no thought to cast any blemish upon His Majesty, but that we knew they were the faults of His Ministers, and we must have censured our selves, if we should have spoken evill of our Soveraigne, and must therefore blame this your expression *of oppression by the King*; And to let you see your fault, looke on the Ship-money, in whom was the fault there? though we say it were an oppression; was it not in such as advised the King, that by Law He might doe it, and these were the sworne Judges?

You know the great assistance this House hath had from the Lords this Parliament, and therefore you do not well to charge the Lords with oppression in generall; if any Lords have done amisse, it is not the fault of others, nor of their order or condition, and it hath been a grievous crime among the people, that whenever there was any offence committed by any person, they would forthwith reproach all men of the same calling; a course as foolish, as uncharitable, to accuse the Government for the persons faults: yet this appeared to be the greatest cause of complaint against the Bishops, that some of them had done amisse; and you must acknowledge that our engagement was to remove such oppressions as were breaches of Law, not to fight against the Law it selfe, nor to usurpe a power over the people: And it seemes you are perswaded, that *our Laws are oppression*; and how then could this Parliament proceed to judge any persons guilty of offences against Laws, if the Laws themselves were more criminall then the persons? And you would hereby make us guilty of the blood taken for breach of Law, at your owne impor-

tunity; for no man can be punished by the Law, but for offending against the King, and you say *you fought to take away the King*, and then there is no Malefactor; and so would have us destroy men by that Law you say you fought to take away: And we assure you, we know no better condition to restore the Kingdome unto, then to be governed by the Lawes established, whereby they are the freest people of the world, and were so in all ages past; And when you professe the cause of your assisting us was to *destroy the Law*, you make your selves more guilty of blood then the Kings party, who say they fight for it.

In that you say *that for the continuance of that power, that had oppresst you, it was evident the King intended to make War*; Its true, the King did raise Forces, but this House never said, that it was to continue the power that oppresst the people; for all the world knowes, that in the matters complained of as oppressions, He had clearly quitted them long before; And this House declared, that, War tended to the dissolution of Government, in regard the Laws (in time of hostility) have not their force, but that doth not dissolve our Allegeance to the King, nor destroy any of His rights.

You say, *you know the safety of the people to be above all Law*, but you are very much deceived in the application of that sentence, which, though wisely said by the Philosopher, is no Canonicall Scripture, nor of any validity to dispence with our obedience, where the word of God requires it; nor is that saying understood by you; for *that the safety of the people is the Supreame Law*, is a direction to the Princes, and Rulers of the people, and to Kings, not to the people at all; for if the people should judge what is for the safety of the people, the Governours were in vaine, and you might as well say the Army should lead the Generall, which your owne experience knowes to be monsterous; and this House knowes no Supreame Authority, but that of the King, which we have sworne to defend, and there cannot *be two Supreames in one Kingdome*, as your selves acknowledge, and it is impossible it should be, for Parliaments sit not but at the Kings pleasure, and therefore they wonder you should imagine such an authority in it; And so you see your selves deceived, both in the authority and cause fancied; And we understand not, what you meane *by acting the highest which you might doe*; and if you intend thereby any violence to His Majesties Person, which we suspect you doe, we abhor the thought of so horrid an action, and wish you to repent for such thoughts, if they have entred into your minds.

(D) As you were deceived in your grounds for right reason, flattering your selves with your private opinions, so much more, in such as you take from the proceedings of this House; for the Judges were not condemned by it for declaring the King to be the Judge of safety, but for the consequence they deduced from thence, which was to levie Ship-money, for you very well knew, that there may be, as there have been, such suddaine accidents, when it

is impoſſible to call a Parliament, whereby the ſafety of the Kingdome may be in danger, and the time required for the King to provide the remedy loſt; and this your ſelves muſt needs acknowledge.

And we *never denied the King a negative Voice*, as you ſay, but we ſaid, he ought to conſent to ſuch good Laws, as His two Houſes ſhould preſent to Him; but that is not to deny Him a *negative Voice*; And we muſt acknowledge there can be no Law of force without His conſent, and He muſt judge it good, or elſe He is not bound to give His conſent; for otherwiſe His condition were worſe then a Subject.

For *taking away the Biſhops votes out of the Lords Houſe*, you know there was an Act with the conſent of the King and Lords, without which it could not have been done: and though upon your importunate Petition this Houſe ſaid, they would ſettle the *Militia* without the Lords (doubting the violence then threatned,) it doth not follow they could have done it; But we beleeve that thereby, and by your tumults, the Lords (that remained) were moved to joyne with us, which otherwiſe they would not have done: But theſe proceedings ought not to be drawne into example, nor the conſequences of theſe actions expected from us, no more then your threats, which cauſed many Members to depart, ſit ſilent, or conſent to what you would have. If you account *this Houſe the Supreame Authority*, you ought no more to have threatned them, then ſuch as now ſit, for they were as much truſted by their Countries, as thoſe that remaine, and their Countries that ſent them cannot in juſtice be bound by what is done, when their Truſtees are driven away; nor can a part remaining be the repreſentative body of the people.

(E) You miſtake Demonſtrations for Suppoſitions, and you extend the expreſſions of this Houſe to your own deſires, to have them profeſſe Supremacy to the King & Lords beyond our meaning: So you do us injury, when you call *our expreſſions indulgent*, that declare our judgement of the Right of the King, and Lords, and ſay they are weighed downe by thoſe other proceedings of ours, and ſo would brand us for double dealing, and impoſture with the people: And we wonder (ſince you know we pretend not to power to give an Oath, nor judge a Crime, but tranſmit it to the Lords for their judgement) that you ſhould (againſt all example) imagine ſuch a power in this Houſe, which we never had, nor can without horrid impiety aſſume; And all judgements and puniſhments acted by the Lords, or this Houſe, are done by power derived from the King, and in His name, as your ſelves well know, and without which no obedience were due by the people to them, or us: And we cannot execute, nor claime any more, then we have by the knowne Law of the Land, and by the graunts of His Majeſty, and former Princes. And you would have ſuch words, as were uſed by us in caſes of difference touching Priviledges claimed by us, to out-weigh ſuch determinations, as were made upon long conſideration, for it fals out often, that though we have claimed ſomething

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as of right belonging to us, we have been satisfied of the contrary upon debate.

Its indeed impossible as you say, that *you should beleeve that it can consist with safety or freedome, to be governed either by two or three Supreames*; and as impossible for you to beleeve, that *England* hath been so governed, or that there is any Supreame but the King, the deniall whereof upon mens imaginations, that it should not be so, (against all experience, and the fundamentall constitutions of the Kingdome) were too great folly and impudence; and you ought not to conclude, what the right is by the present practice against all Antiquity, there having been many things acted in these times of distemper, which cannot be justified in quiet times.

(F) The Kings Supremacy hath been alwaies acknowledged; and the two Houses His great Councell; And by advice of the Lords, and request of the Commons such Lawes have been enacted by the Kings Predecessors, as we professe to fight for; and by this Government this Kingdome enjoyed the greatest stability and happinesse that hath been knowne: And the Argument you use, that *the Negative of the King and Lords hinders Reformation*, may be used against all Governours, when the people are unruly, who charge their Governours with oppression, and say they must not be Judges of it, but the people; which *is* a state of confusion, not lawfull liberty: nor is this constitution a bondage, but the peoples security, (which by such principles of corrupt reason as you propound) would be destroyed, and violence and disorder established; And you thereby discover your impatience to live under any Government but seeke to live after your owne will, whereby you condemne the practice of all Christians in the best times, and nullifie the Rules of subjection God hath prescribed.

(G) You must know, that the taking of Armes by the King, doth not cancell the obligation we have of Allegeance to His Majesty; And its a great errour in you to expect from us, that we should alter the Government, or injure Him; And as its impossible for the Supreame Authority to erect a power equall to it selfe; so that being acknowledged in the King, it were great presumption and wickednesse in us to seeke to take it from Him, nor can we; And if we take from Him what is not justly ours, by force, we gaine no right by it, but guilt and infamy; And we know, that its for the good of all, that the King have His right, and it tends to the destruction of the whole people to keepe it from Him.

And you see in the Divine Story, that when *there was no King in Israel, every man did what he pleased*, and sithence the Scriptures have given such titles to Kings, and expressed the necessity of their calling, and the people esteeme them the breath of their nostrils, and the publique safety bound up in that of their Kings, its a strange Apostacy in you against all duty, Oathes and examples of Godly men in all ages, to vilifie your Soveraigne (to whom onely Judges 17. 6.

you have sworne Allegeance) with the tearmes of single person, publique Officer; and you forget, that there is no slavery equall to Faction, nor any sure remedy for Faction, but Monarchy; You know, you are not the whole people, and that more differ from you in this opinion, then joyne with you, and that its more necessary you should be reconciled, then wasted by continuall divisions.

(H) While you *hold your selves guilty of punishments, and would have our Authority to be your indempnity*; you betray your great folly, and disloyalty; Can you with a good conscience breake the Lawes you are subject to? and if you have committed murder, and Treason against the Laws, doubtlesse our Authority cannot excuse you against God, nor the Law; and though force might secure you from punishment, it cannot from guilt, nor the wrath of God, whom you have offended, being perswaded as you are, that your actions were *murder and treason by the Law of the Land*; and your consciences cannot acquit you from doing actions against wicked persons, tyrants, and oppressors, they being not judged so by the Law, and you may as well use that reason against us, if you like not our proceedings, as against His Majesty; And if you, and every man may with a good conscience kill and destroy such as you judge oppressors, Laws are to no purpose; and where God hath not given the sword, its no lesse then Rebellion to use it; and its a most prophane, and more then heathenish barbarisme, to professe such a destructive Principle; Know this, that no man hath power of the life of another, but where the Law hath given it, he stands and fals to his owne Master; and if you kill against the Law, be assured your consciences cannot acquit you, for you have no right to the sword, and he dies (as innocent) that dies by your hands in such cases.

(I) You say the *Personall Treaty hath been cried up most by such as have been been disaffected to us*; we should be sorry that such as were best affected to us should be lesse desirous of peace then any, which tis impossible to have without a Treaty; And we are sorry to see you manifest an affection tending to the destruction of your Country, to dissuade us from a Treaty, and offer such considerations of impossibilities to have a Peace; as are the present force upon the King, and the Provocations used to him; and you make the feare of your owne guilt a cause to continue the War; as if Christians could never forget offences, nor wise Princes pardon, nor prefer what's best for their people, which is Peace, but seeke private revenge before publique good; You would not have a Treaty nor Peace with the King, because you have offended Him; and this House beleeves, that some Malignant persons, that are void of all Christianity and affection to their Country, have inserted these uncharitable and bloody Principles; And as you bring forth the examples of former Kings breaking their words, so you should remember likewise, there could never be rest to the Kingdome in former dissentions, till Kings were restored; and as we know not any *underhand dealing by the King in former*

Treaties

Treaties, which you talke of, ſo that expreſſion you mention, of *deſignes on foot to make the Bils paſſed fruitleſſe*, was never intended to reflect on the King, but on His Miniſters; And whiles you take notice of the *riſings* and *Victories*, you might take notice, that you cannot ſee when there will be an end of ſuch riſings; for you did not expect them a year ſince, and what another year may produce, we cannot tell, and we may fear, God will not bleſſe us longer with Victories, if we be enemies to Peace.

(K) Your *ſtanding amazed* proceedes from your miſtakes, and while you pretend danger from the Kings Party as enraged againſt you, the expreſſions of your paſſions againſt them appeares more criminall, then what you charge them with, and doth not become ſuch as profeſſe to fight for *Religion* and *Liberty*.

(L) We give you our ſence of the Particulars mentioned by you, which you ſay *would ſatisfie all ſerious people of all parties*, and hope that will ſilence you for the time to come.

1. *We cannot pretend to the Supreame Authority of the people in this Houſe, it being in the King by Law and the conſtant ſubmiſſion of the people; we having onely their Petitionary power, as all Parliaments acknowledge; And to deny the Negative of the King and Lords, were Robbery, when we take that is not due to us; and Rebellion and diſobedience ſo to uſurpe on our King the Father of our Country; and a breach of our truſt to the people, from whom we have no ſuch power, but only to conſent to ſuch things, as ſhall be ordained by Common-councell, that is, by the King with the advice of the Lords.*

2, 3. *Its out of our power, and not profitable for the Kingdome to have Parliaments every year, as experience hath taught us, and that is well provided for by Bill already; And we ſhall be content to ſet a time for the end of this Parliament, becauſe it is againſt the fundamentall conſtitutions of the Kingdome, and the Liberty of the Subject to have it perpetuall, or longer.*

4. *To exempt matters of Religion and Gods worſhip from coercive power, becomes not a Chriſtian State; and is contrary to all example.*

5. *That the Supreame Authority ſhould not have power to preſſe Subjects, ſtands not with reaſon nor ſafety of the Kingdome.*

6. *To make all men alike, and deſtroy all civill ſubordination as the Article tends to, is contrary to the Laws and ſafety of this Kingdome.*

7. *That the Commons ſhould be freed from the juriſdiction of the Lords we conceive is the Law eſtabliſhed, and the triall by twelve men, the liberty of the Commons: Only upon appeales by Writ of Error a cauſe may be adjudged in the Lords Houſe by the advice of the Judges and Kings Councell.*

8. *The eighth is the Law already, that, &c.*

9. *We ſhall endeavour to eſtabliſh it.*

10. *This ſhall be done as full as ſtands with the benefit of the Kingdome,*

11. *This likewiſe we deſire to effect, ſo far as may ſtand with the preſervation of the Kingdome.*

12. *We shall take care to have the best use made of those grounds for the publique good.*

13. *This we shall likewise take care to provide for.*

14. *We thinke this fit to be done.*

15. *We shall consider of the defects herein if any be.*

16. *We know not a more equall way, then Tythe for the Ministers, and thinke any other way would be worse, this being most agreeable to Scripture.*

17. *We thinke you have no cause to complaine of this.*

18. *Though future Parliaments cannot be bound by the present, you need not doubt, that any Parliament will abolish propriety, unlesse it be to satisfie Tumults.*

19. *For the Kings Authority is sufficiently knowne, and His revenue must be taken care of, but it may lawfully increase and cannot be diminished without injustice and damage to the Kingdome.*

20. *This ought to be examined and reformed if there be cause.*

21. *We do not esteeme all men oppressed, that were sentenced in Star-Chamber, High Commission, and Councell-Board, but for such as have been, they ought to be repaired according to Law and Justice.*

22. *All Committees shall be abolished, and matters left to ordinary proceeding; for the Kingdome cannot be quiet, untill it be done.*

23. *We shall not follow the examples of former ill Parliaments, and take you heed you do not presse us to it.*

24. *Its already answered.*

25. *We wonder you should confesse your selves guilty of Treason, and cry for severity upon those, that desire not mercy; and if we put them to death without breach of any Law, they die innocent, and we shall be guilty of their blood.*

26. *Would you have all Taxes laid downe and an Army kept up? and would you have men punished for offences, and your selves spared? you know the Judges are sworne to do according to Law, and do you thinke they can acquit the guilty (as you judge your selves to be) against their Conscience upon our direction? and should we direct them against Law, and pretend zeale for Law? you see what reason there is for an Act of Oblivion, and no doubt the History of these times will be written, and posterity will judge, and if you have broken the Law, (as you seeme to confesse it) all the pretences in the world cannot alter the fact.*

27. *In the War no doubt many innocent persons have suffered by your hands, as well as by the Kings; and selfe-justifications and boastings will not appease the wrath of God: in the meane time there must be an end of War, and Gods and the Kings mercy implored.*

We know the happinesse of Peace and the misery of War, and the people will soone find (if we be a meanes to continue the War) whence their sufferings have come; and we have just cause to feare, we shall find a greater losse of honor, then yet we have discerned; and you that account your selves the people will find more against you, then for you.

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